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SHALMANESER III AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ASSYRIAN POWER

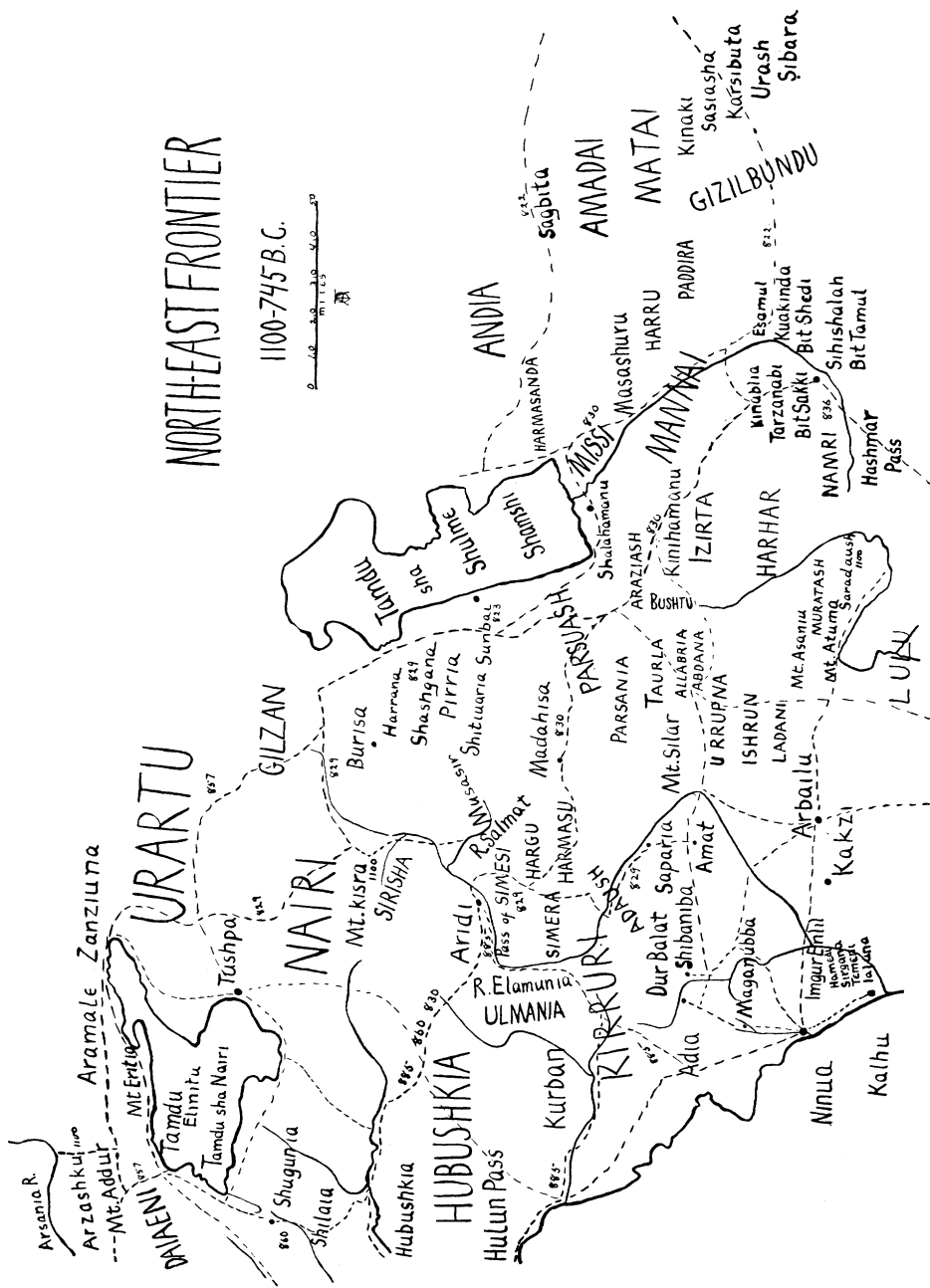
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WHEN SHALMANESER III ascended the throne of his father in 860, he was no longer a young man, for the reign of Ashur-nasir-apal had lasted no less than twenty-five years, and he himself owned a son old enough to accompany him on distant campaigns two years later. His first step was to make a clean sweep of his father's officials, who were replaced with others nearer his own age. Ashur-bel-ukin was appointed *turtanu*; Ashur-bana-usur became the chief musician; Abu-ina-ekalli-lilbur, whose name, 'May the father grow old in the palace,' indicated a hereditary position, very appropriately was chosen chamberlain of the palace. Not one of the men who surrounded the person of the king or ruled in the provinces had previously held office high enough to be entered in the eponym lists.¹

Thanks to the efforts of Ashur-nasir-apal, the foreign situation was by no means threatening, though it offered encouraging opportunities for war if the new king cherished such ambitions. During the entire quarter-century, Assyria had enjoyed a peace with Babylonia which had never been formally broken, even when

¹ This article continues previous studies in the earlier history of Assyria in *AJSL* 36. 125 ff.; *JAOS* 37. 169 ff.; 38. 209 ff. The chief sources are the royal inscriptions, best published in N. Rasmussen, *Salmanasser den II's Indskriften*, 1907; for criticism of the sources and further bibliography, cf. Olmstead, *Historiography*, 21 ff. Added material is found in the Assyrian Chronicle, last publication, Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 344 ff. Most valuable are the Balawat Gate reliefs, Pinches, *The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balawat*, 1880; King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, 1915; cf. for discussion, Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 1 ff. The Babylonian expeditions are discussed in *AJSL* 37. 217 ff. The provincial development is investigated *JAOS* 34. 344 ff.; *Amer. Political Science Rev.* 12. 69 ff. Lack of space prevents discussion of the scanty cultural data, of the rise of the Haldian kingdom, and of the earlier Hebrew history. A map of the northeast frontier is given at the close of this article; four others will be found *JAOS* 38. 260 ff. My colleagues of the Cornell Expedition, Professor J. E. Wrench of the University of Missouri, and Dr. B. B. Charles of Philadelphia, have drawn my attention to added topographical data found in Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, and Byzantine Greek, but all have been verified.



Nabu-apal-iddina violated his neutrality by sending troops to the support of the Assyrian rebels in the middle Euphrates valley. Neither on the east, where the restless Median tribes were just beginning to appear on the Assyrian horizon, nor on the west, where the Aramaean invasion for the moment had been checked, was immediate danger to be apprehended. Syria offered much valuable booty, but it was too disunited and too distant for any fear on the part of Assyria. On the north alone was there cause for concern. Urartu, or, to use the term preferred by the natives themselves, Haldia, was developing a formidable power behind the protection of the Armenian mountains, and had already forced a reluctant notice from the scribes of Ashur-nasir-apal. Indeed, the last recorded campaign of the reign had been necessitated by the intrigues of that state, and the failure of the official historians to mention the part played by Urartu was simply confession of failure to win back the lost laurels.

Nor did his son dare a direct attack on Haldia at first. In the very beginning of his accession year, for he had been enthroned early, Shalmaneser collected his foot-soldiers and his chariots and entered the defiles of Simesi land, the rough Tiyari region where almost to our own day the Christian mountaineers have preserved a hardly-won independence. No opposition had been previously encountered, mute evidence that the wars of his father on this frontier had not been without result, that the country to the immediate northeast of Nineveh now recognized the Assyrian overlordship. The first acquisition of the reign was Aridi, the fortress of Ninni, commanding the valley of the Upper Zab.² The scene of plunder, the pillar of heads, the burning alive of youths and maidens, indicated that the new king was to be no less harsh in dealing with rebels than his terrible father. In consequence, all the chiefs from whom Ashur-nasir-apal had exacted tribute, Hargians, Harmasians, Simesians, Simerians, Sirishians, and Ulmanians, appeared before his son.³

Climbing out of the Zab valley, Shalmaneser descended into Hubushkia⁴ by a mountain pass and over hills which reached to

² Aridi is probably Julamerik.

³ Mon. I. 14 ff.—The chronological difficulties as to separation of the first two years disappear if we use only the earliest source, the Monolith, and take the 'in the beginning of my reign in my first year' as lumping together the first two years, the date Airu XIII marking the dividing line.

⁴ Hubushkia is Sert according to the Sargon tablet, 307, Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, xi. The route was then by the pass back of Julamerik and down the Bohtan Su.

heaven like the point of an iron dagger, where a passage for the chariots could be made only with much labor on the part of the pioneers. The capital of the same name was soon a smoking ruin, and its Nairi prince, Kakia, after a struggle in the mountains, begged the royal pardon. The Haldian frontier was reached at Sugania, a tiny fortress perched upon a high rock at the junction of two small affluents of the Upper Tigris. Around the arched bridge it commanded, the Assyrians constructed a circular camp with a gate at either exit of the road.⁵ The king set forth in his chariots, attended by others in which were carried the standards. Arrived at the doomed city, he dismounted, and, still surrounded by his body guards, shot his arrows against the fortress. The main attack was launched by the archers, but sappers, protected by long leather robes, were employed to loosen the stones in the walls, and other soldiers attempted an assault with ladders. The natives resisted with bow and spear until the houses were fired, when they abandoned the struggle. Opposite the town, a pillar of heads was erected, and the survivors, naked save for the peculiar 'liberty caps' and up-tilted shoes, their necks bound in a yoke to a long rope and their hands tied behind their backs, were dragged before the official who stood, club of office in hand, to receive them.

Operations recommenced with a skirmish in the open. Opposed were the little Haldians, clad in short robes or entirely naked, armed with long or short lances, and defended by the short round shield and greaves. In their formation, pairs of archers and shield-bearing lancers, they had followed Assyrian custom. Fourteen of the surrounding villages went up in smoke, the men were impaled on stakes set in the wall, the severed heads were hung in the gates. The invaders cut down the palm trees, surprisingly far north until we remember that today they still flourish fruitless on the warm shores of Lake Van, and captive horses recall to our minds the fact that Armenia has always been famous for the fineness of its breed. The strangest trophy was a rough platform on wheels, so ponderous that eleven men were needed to pull it along by means of ropes over their shoulders. On it was a huge grain jar, no less than eight feet high, held in place by a man mounted beside it, and guarded by poles in the hands of the three

⁵ Sugania cannot be Shokh, the Kurdish name of Tauck, Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 420, as Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 8, since Hubushkia is now known to be Sert. The troops may have gone, not via Bitlis, but by the valley to the east where Sakh and Sakh Dagh may represent Sugania.

men behind. In camp, the grain was ground, the dough mixed on the floor, and the bread baked in the round mud oven. The eunuch camp-prefect made frequent trips in his chariot to oversee the collection of the booty, which was packed in camp under his business-like direction.

The army descended to a plain for its next encampment, a rectangular walled enclosure, studded with battlemented towers within whose protection, in one corner, stood the royal tent. Quitting this place, the army pushed on over mountains so steep and by roads so execrable that it was necessary for the attendants to drag the chariot horses up the slopes by main force. Without encountering further resistance, Shalmaneser reached Lake Van at a village where the mountains ranged about the curving shore. The procession to the water's edge was formed, first the two royal standards, then the monarch on foot, his high officials, the musicians playing on harps, finally the bulls and rams destined for the sacrifice. The royal effigy had been carved on a low cliff overhanging the water, where Shalmaneser appeared as he was wont to be seen on state occasions, richly robed and with scepter and tiara, but unarmed, in token of the peaceful character of his mission. The standards were set up, with a tall candlestick by their side, the king assumed an attitude of adoration, two bulls and four rams were slaughtered and presented on the three-legged altar before the stele, the libations were set forth in a jar on an ox-footed support. Portions of the slain animals were thrown by the soldiers into the lake to be consumed by the fish, turtles, and wild swine that swarmed the shore or the waters.

The raid had caused much damage to a corner of Haldia, but it was only a corner, and Arame, the Haldian king, had not even been engaged.⁶ Winter was approaching and the passes would soon be closed; Shalmaneser, therefore, decided to return, and by the same route. On his way, Asau of Gilzan brought in his gifts, the horses, cattle, and sheep we have come to expect, and with them two humped camels of the Bactrian breed.⁷ The winter months were utilized by Shalmaneser in securing recognition of his suzerainty in Babylonia. Nabu-apal-iddina made a formal alliance which brought him under Assyrian control as surely as

⁶ Arame is the traditional king of Armenia, Aram according to Moses of Chorene, 1. 13 f.; cf. Rawlinson, *JRAS* (OS) 12. 446 n.1.

⁷ Account based primarily on the Balawat sculptures, eked out by the Monolith and by the topographical data.

any 'ally' of Rome; the gods acknowledged his direct rule when he sacrificed to Marduk and Nabu in Babylon and Borsippa.⁸

The Armenian campaign had been a mere reconnaissance in force, but it had indicated with sufficient clearness that it would be no easy matter to develop successes on this frontier, and it had suggested that the material returns might not pay the expenses of equipping an army. If plunder were desired, Syria always lay open to attack, and it was in this direction that the next offensive was planned. Lucky and unlucky days played a large part in Assyrian life; we realize the difference from the modern conception when we find the army leaving Nineveh on the thirteenth of Airu, the beginning of May. Hasamu and Dihnunū were traversed, and the boundary of Bit Adini was reached at Lalate, whose inhabitants thought only of flight to the hills. A battle was contested under the walls of Kiraqa, and Ahuni, the new master of Adini, was forced to take refuge behind its fortifications. Resistance still continued and the Assyrian troops were in danger of attack from the rear. They did succeed in securing possession of the Aramaic settlement of Bur Marna, the 'Spring of our Lord,' and when the pillar of heads was set up, the threat was sufficient to bring in the contributions of Habini of Til Abni and of Gauni of Sarugi, whose name is connected with the Hebrew patriarch Serug.⁹

Rafts laid on inflated skins carried the Assyrians across the Euphrates to Qummuh, the tribute of Qataz-ilu was received as in 867, Paqarhubuni submitted,¹⁰ the domains of Adini were left behind, and the cities of Gurgum were reached in the plain about Marqasi, the modern Marash.¹¹ Shalmaneser was gratified by the gifts handed over by Mutallu, which included his daughter and

⁸ *MDOG* 28. 24 f. places the offerings before the account of the Anu-Adad temple and is dated in the month Muhur ilani, day five, year one of my royalty, that is, 859. The alliance, *Synchr. Hist.*

⁹ Hasamu, the Hasame of the Harran Census, is Hossīwe, on the west end of Jebel Abd el Aziz, Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, 59, n. 2. Schiffer, *Aramāer*, 64, on the basis of the Harran Census, restored Saru... as Sarugi, the well-known Serūj of later times. Kiraqa is restored by Rasmussen, *ad loc.* The country of Giri Adad is missing, but Sayce, *RP*² 4. 59, rightly restored Ashsha on the basis of Ashur nasir apal, *Ann.* 3. 94, where he is called Giri Dadi.

¹⁰ Here written Pakarruhbuni, identified by Streck, *ZDMG* 1908, 765 n. 2, with the land Paqaiahubi written on a bone ring, Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 83. It must be near Samosata, as the Diarbekir-Samsat-Marash road was evidently taken.

¹¹ Cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 95.

her dowry. When he turned southwest, he found his way blocked by a coalition of all the more important North Syrian chiefs which had come together at Lutibu. Ahuni of Adini, Sangara of Carchemish, Sopalulme of Hattina,¹² and Haianu of Samal were the leaders. The last country had already been known to the Egyptians as Samalua, and its present ruler, Haya, had been preceded by an unnamed father and a grandfather Gabbar.¹³ The conflict resulted in a tactical victory for the Assyrians, but the allies succeeded in preventing the siege of Samal and Shalmaneser had to console himself for the loss of its spoil with the barren honor of erecting a stele under the Amanus at the source of the Saluara River.¹⁴

The way was open to the south. The Assyrian forces crossed the Orontes and appeared before the Hattinian fortress of Alisir, not far from where in time to come was the site of the mighty city of Antioch.¹⁵ Again the allies blocked the way, aided now by Kate of Que or Cilicia,¹⁶ by Pihirim of Hiluka, the name whence came our Cilicia, though at this time it was north of the Gates, and by Bur Anata of Iasbuqa,¹⁷ an Aramaean as his name compounded with the goddess Anath shows. Again the allies went down to defeat and Bur Anata fell into the hands of the conquerors, but once more the victory was followed by no important results and Shalmaneser was forced to content himself with tribute from the 'kings of the sea coast.'

The quadrangular camp with overhanging towers was pitched on the seashore, and the king took his stand before it under an

¹² In *JAOS* 38. 247, I doubted the correctness of the reading Hattina for the more usual Patina. The spelling in the Boghaz Kôï document, Ha-at-ti-ni-wi-na, Forrer, *SB Berl. Akad.*, 1919, 1032, proves that I was too conservative.

¹³ List of Thothmes III, 314; Tomkins, *TSBA* 9. 251; H. 633; the native record, von Luschán, *Mith. Or. Sammlungen*, 14. 375; Littmann, *SB Berl. Akad.*, 1911, 976; Šamālū was taken in 728 by Muawiya, Tabari in Brooks, *JHS* 18. 199; it was a part of the Syrian Thaghr and was taken by Harun al Rashid in 780, see al Baladhuri, 170; Yaqt, s. v. 'Ḍamālu (colloquial Šamālū),' Hitti, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 263, but the Assyrian, as so often, proves the pointing of the Arabic.

¹⁴ For the Saluara River, cf. Sachau, *SB Berl. Akad.*, 1892, 329 ff.

¹⁵ Amiaud-Scheil, *ad loc.*, read Alimush.

¹⁶ So restored by Rasmussen on the basis of Obl. 132, as against Harper, *ad loc.*, who reads Kateshu.

¹⁷ Schiffer, *Aramäer*, 89 n. 2, compares the Ishbak of Gen. 25. 2. Add also Ada the *taian*?

umbrella, surrounded by his guards and attendants, the most important of whom were the three turtanus who faced him. The master of ceremonies, turning backward, beckoned for the ambassadors to approach. The two representatives of Tyre and Sidon, accompanied by their sons, thereupon advanced, their hands raised in adoration. Their beards were pointed, their double robes were long and clinging, their turbans were wound with ribbons which fell to their necks, their shoes were upturned. Behind them came the tribute bearers, some with trays filled with oriental sweet-meats, others with boxes on their padded shoulders or huge caldrons carried like caps on their heads. The last of the procession stood in the water to unload their boat, for it was too shallow to permit reaching the land. The boats were long, narrow craft, each with two men, who steered and rowed, or rather poled them along, by oars without oarlocks. Ropes attached to the upstanding heads of camels at the high prows and sterns held them fast to the shore. They were piled high with bales, dark blue wool, wool, lapis lazuli, shamu, ingots of gold, silver, lead, and copper. Cloth was carried on poles suspended from men's shoulders, and one great jar required special attention as it was handed from the boat to the shore. Whole trees and beams of cedar, in themselves sufficient to repay the Assyrians for the long trip, were brought down and piled up. Across the water could be seen a rocky islet, which bore a town with high battlemented walls and possessed two gates. From it came forth, their hands laden with gifts, the chief and his wife, her skirt tucked up, her hair flowing.¹⁸

A second stele was set up at Atalur, on a cliff by the seashore, where one day Antioch's seaport, Seleucia, was to be located, and where the king's predecessor, Ashur-rabi, had already left a memorial of his presence.¹⁹ The return journey was equally prosperous. The Hattinians, clad in short girdled tunics and protected only by round helmets and neck-pieces, were easily defeated in detail. The Assyrian soldiers seized them by the hair, stabbed

¹⁸ Schlumberger fragments, Lenormant, *Gazette Arch.*, 4, pl. 22 ff.

¹⁹ Obl. gives Lallar as the name of the mountain and this has regularly been quoted as if it had as good or better authority than Atalur. Our study, *Historiography*, 26 f., showing the inaccuracy of the Obl. for this earlier period, should forever banish Lallar from topographical discussions. The form Atalur is further confirmed by Mt. Atilur, following Libnanu (Lebanon), II R 51, 1. It cannot possibly be in the Alexandretta region (Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 79 f.), as a glance at the route placed on the map will show.

them, and decorated their chariots with the severed heads. Several of the Hattinian towns, Taia, Nulia, Butamu, fell into the Assyrian hands. Hazazu was a good-sized fort on a low artificial mound which witnessed to the respectable antiquity that already lay behind it. When the troops in heavy armor began the escalade and the town was already on fire, the townspeople could not resist. The king received his prisoners under a canopy held by his servants and placed before the round camp. Great was the contrast between the richly-clad Assyrian officials who introduced them and the long line of captives, some without a stitch of clothing, their necks in a rope and their hands tied behind them, the women with their hair hanging down their backs and clothed in gowns which reached only to elbows and ankles. Tribute from another Arame, the king of Gusi, closed the year.²⁰

The eponym office was assumed by the king himself in 858. Nineveh was again left on the lucky thirteenth of Airu. Accompanied by the crown prince, he hastened by the direct road to Til Barsip, the capital of Bit Adini, which commanded one of the most important fords of the Euphrates, where to this day the islands show in summer and a ferry crosses. The city was large as such cities went, the ramparts on the land side were strong, a quay cut to the river through the conglomerate testified to commerce by water, and the character of the people was indicated by the expected Hittite sculpture in basalt.²¹ Leaving the capital to be reduced in a later campaign, Shalmaneser crossed the stream

²⁰ Mon. I. 29 ff.; for Hazazu, cf. *JAOS* 38. 248 n. 67; F. J. Arne, *L'Anthropologie*, 20. 24, found seeming traces of palaeolithic remains at Tell Azāz. Taia is the Tae of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 144, the modern Kefr Tai, not far from Aleppo, Tomkins, *Bab. Or. Rec.*, 3. 6. Nulia may be Niara, Ptol. 5. 14, 10; Hartmann, *ZA* 14. 339. The sea is that of Antioch, Winckler, *Forsch.* 1. 104. Butamu is the Bādāmā of Yaqut, *s.v.*, in the Azāz district, 'its mention being in the tradition of Adam,' that is, it was believed to have had an early origin. For Gusi, note that Heraclius sent his brother Theodore against the Arabs, and they came to Gusit, a village near Antioch, where there was a stylite named Simeon, and here they were defeated by the enemy, Michael Syr., trans. Dulaurier, *JA* 4thS. 13. 321.

²¹ For Til Barsip, the present Tell Aḥmar, cf. Thompson, *PSBA* 34. 66 ff.; Hogarth, *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life*, 173 ff.; *Liverpool Annals*, 2, 177; Bell, *Amurath*, 28 ff.; Sayce, *PSBA* 33. 174, identifies it with a Greek Barsampse which I do not recognize.

in full flood and collected the plunder of six of the Adini cities.²² While the monarch remained in his camp with his eunuchs, the crown prince led his troops against Dabigu, a double-walled city with battlemented outworks in the plain, and defended against assaults by ladders or through mines by archers armed with short swords.²³ In the siege of Til Bashere, the king seated himself under a canopy erected between the camp and the beleaguered city, that he might watch the operation of a new contrivance, a ram on six wheels, directed by a man in a sort of cupola on the top, which was attacking the tower guarding the lone gate in the long wall. The defenders dropped stones upon it, but in vain; the city on the low mound which gave so commanding a position to the crusading Turbessel was taken, and the inhabitants deprived of hands and feet and impaled about the walls, above which projected the gable of the palace of 'Hittite fashion' so popular among the Assyrians a century later. The citizens of the upper town, bearded men wearing liberty caps, with long double robes open at the side and pointed shoes, were led with ropes about their necks; the matrons, their hair below the waist and bare-legged, followed meekly, and dromedaries and mules brought out the couches and other furniture which were considered worthy of removal. The whole convoy was under the direction of the crown prince, whose uncertain stand in his chariot was made easier by the protecting arm of his attendant. His presence was also indicated by the smaller tent at the side of the larger one occupied by his father and by the double guard which watched the camp.²⁴

²² The other four area(?)ga; Tagi, the Tuka of Tiglath Pileser IV; Surunu, the Saruna of the same, Rost, *Tiglat-Pileser*, 85, possibly Šauron east of Niara, more probably Sārūn northwest of Tell Basher; if the next is read as naturally, Paripa, it may with Sachau, *ZA* 12. 48, be identified with Paphara, Ptol. 5. 14, 10; if Patalpa, with Schiffer, *Aramäer*, 64, it might be connected with Tulupa, six miles from Turbessel (Tell Basher), William of Tyre, 17. 17.

²³ Dabigu is the modern Dābiq, Sachau, *ZA* 12. 48. The caliph Sulēmān followed the custom of his family in making it his headquarters during attacks on Maššīša, died here in 717 A. D., and was buried in the tell called Tell Sulēmān, Yaqut, s. v. In 778, Uthman made Dabekon his base against Germanicia-Marash, Theoph., 421, cf. 431.

²⁴ The same curious refusal to accept a reading which might connect with an important later site which has been manifested in the case of Anat and Bagdadu, is seen in Til Bashere. Sayce, *RP*² 4. 62 n. 1, cf. Hüsing, *OLZ* 1. 360, had already made the identification, but Peiser, *KB* 1. 160, after correctly transliterating in his text, in his translation follows Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 264,

Changing his direction, Shalmaneser fell upon the territories of Carchemish. The capture of Sazabe²⁵ brought the coalition to terms, and the narrative for the remainder of the year is made up of the list of tribute furnished by the various princes. That the numbers have grown in the process of transmission is to be expected, but in spite of this, we are given a valuable insight into the economic life of North Syria. The ruler of Hattina or Unqi brought three talents of gold, a hundred of silver, three hundred of copper, the same of iron, a thousand articles of that metal, a thousand dresses and cloaks, twenty talents of purple, five hundred cattle, and five thousand sheep. For its collection, it was necessary to penetrate the great swamp of Unqi, access to which could be gained only by flat-bottomed boats that could pass anywhere in the shallows. Two men, their long hair bound with fillets and their clothes as abbreviated as might be expected of an aquatic folk, rowed and steered them by oars hung in thongs, while the wild ducks flew before them. Shalmaneser did not trust himself to

with Mabashere. Hogarth, *Accidents*, 165, reports the find of many Hittite cylinders and other small objects, but wrongly calls it Pitru. It is referred to by Matthew of Edessa, 1. 5. Tell Bāshir was a fortified *qal'a* and an extensive *kūra*, inhabited by Armenian Christians, with outlying settlements and markets, well cultivated and peopled, Yaqut, *s. v.* Its greatest claim to fame is that, as Turbessel, it was the capital of the famous Crusader, Jocelyn of Courtenay, Rey, *Colonies franques*, 322. Gregory the Priest, the Armenian historian, *Rec. Hist. Crois., Hist. Arm.* 1. 162 ff., tells us that Masud, after the capture of Marash, invaded the territory of Thil Avedeatz, now called Thlpashar, in 1149; the next year he unsuccessfully attacked it; two years later it surrendered to the son of Zangi, lord of Aleppo, though the inhabitants were allowed to withdraw to Antioch. Dr. B. B. Charles, who visited it in the spring of 1908, writes as follows: 'The mound lies in the rolling plains five hours southeast of Aintab, and is the most impressive object in the whole region. It is long and narrow, about a hundred feet high, and is surrounded by a low ellipse of mound formation which marks the line of an early wall, with gateway at east and west. Just beyond the west gate is the zialet of Qara Baba, "Black Father." Well-squared blocks of basalt and red pottery may indicate Hittite occupation. The mound is called Seraser or Seleser Hissār, which may be a Kurdish twisting of Sāry Hissār, Yellow Castle, or it may even be a corruption of Jocelyn.' Curiously enough, in 1837, its name was Qyzyl Hissār, 'Red Castle,' Poujoulat, *Voyage*, 1. 438. Sayce, *RP*² 1. 109, followed by Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, 20, is incorrect in connecting the Bishri of Tiglath Pileser I with Tell Basher.

²⁵ Sazabe may be the Shadbō of the Syriac Mār Mu'ain legend, Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 268, and the Sesben of Thutmose III, 248, Tomkins, *TSBA*, 9. 245, Sayce, *PSBA* 33. 175.

such uncertain protection, but contented himself with a position on the shore across the water from where, on a low mound in the midst of the swamp, stood the capital, a double-gated fortress with battlemented walls. Under the parasol which the damp heat demanded, he received the Hattinian monarch, aping the Assyrian with his long fringed robe and shawl. With him were his nobles, with long hair on head and face, long robes carefully draped, and the inevitable Hittite upturned shoes. Among them was to be observed a man with a strongly negroid face, mute witness to race mixture. The plundering was thorough, and the attendants carried off their goods in baskets and sacks, skins filled with wine, trays heaped with valuables, tusks of elephants. From a smaller castle, also on a mound in the water, came other suppliants, bearing the same gifts, but with different dress, short robes which exposed their bare limbs, and the regulation shoes, Aramaeans who had forced themselves in by the side of their Hittite neighbors. A third castle in the swamps furnished additional gifts of horses and cattle, the latter to this day driven in huge herds along the watery ways. One of these Aramaeans trudged along, on his back a huge wine jar which was destined to be placed later on a tripod by the table under the tent which Shalmaneser had caused to be pitched some distance back from the shore. The tragedy behind the curt statement of the annals, 'his daughter with her rich dowry I received,' is sensed in the half-grown Hittite maiden, her hair barely reaching to her neck, who stretched out her hands in vain supplication to the relentless conqueror who had determined to immure her in his harem.²⁶

Sangara was not so rich as the king of Hattina, for the commer-

²⁶ References in Egyptian records and in the Amarna letters are to Coele-Syria, not to Unqi. The earliest certain reference is in 832 where the Assyrian Chron. uses it while the Obelisk has Hattina. Tiglath Pileser IV regularly uses Unqi, Ann. 92, 145.; 'Amq occurs in the native Zakar inscription. It was known to the Greeks as Amykes Pedion, Polyb. 5. 59, 10; and Amyke, Malalas, 1. 257. The form 'Umqa is said to occur in Syrian Martyrologies. The Romans from Marash sustained a defeat here in 694, Baladhuri, 189, cf. Brooks, *JHS* 18. 207, cf. 189. As a *kūra*, first of Antioch and then of Aleppo, it was the source of most of the grain which supplied the former city, Yaqut, s. v. In 1272, it was ravaged by the Mongols, the expedition of Lajin passed through it in 1298, in 1381 it was the scene of a decisive defeat of the Arabs from Aleppo by the Turkumans, Weil, *Gesch.*, 4. 73, 211, 539. Amaiq was occupied by John Comnenas in 1136, *Chron. L. Arm., Rec. Hist. Crois., Hist. Arm.*, 1. 616.

cial predominance of North Syria was yet to be gained by Carchemish. His gifts were but three talents of gold, seventy of silver, thirty of copper, a hundred of iron, twenty of purple, five hundred weapons, five hundred cattle, and five thousand sheep, horses, buffaloes, and goats, but he made up the account by presenting a hundred noble maidens, whom the scribe cynically lists between the weapons and the cattle. Four of Sangara's castles, all located along the banks of the Euphrates, on low mounds and without the usual overhanging platforms, were forced to disgorge. The citizens, headed by Sangara himself and his two beardless sons, were not unattractive; profiles less sharp than those of the Assyrians, noses straight, short hair and beards. The common sort had retained their ancestral garb, the conical twisted turbans, the long double robes, the upturned shoes, but Assyrian fashions had conquered the nobility, who wore the long single robe and the coat with plain sleeves which characterized the victors. Haianu of Samal offered ten talents of silver, ninety of copper, thirty of iron, three hundred articles of clothing, the same number of cattle, and ten times that number of sheep, two hundred cedar beams, two homers of cedar BE, as well as his daughter.

Whatever we may think of these indemnities, the direct result if not the direct incentive of the expedition, and however exaggerated these statistics may be, we have no reason to doubt the amount of the yearly assessments, for their very modesty is the best proof of their authenticity. Hattina gave a talent of silver, two of purple, a hundred cedar beams; Samal gave ten manas of gold, a hundred cedar beams, and a homer of cedar BE; Agusi gave ten manas of gold, six talents of silver, five hundred cattle, and five thousand sheep; Carchemish provided but a mana of gold, a talent of silver, and two of purple; Qummuh furnished twenty manas of silver and three hundred beams.

The interest of this passage is great. For the first time, we are afforded, not statistics of booty taken in raids, but a formal tribute list. Noteworthy is the disproportion between the indemnity demanded from those who resisted or rebelled and the annual tribute which was barely one percent of the other. It paid to submit.²⁷

Ahuni of Adini was not one of those who preferred an inexpensive submission, for in the very next year, 857, Shalmaneser was

²⁷ For fuller discussion, cf. Olmstead, *Amer. Political Science Review*, 12. 69 ff.

again called to the west. Inspired by the growing power of Haldia, Ahuni broke his pledges and led the whole of his army against the Assyrian border. The Monolith, erected four years later, describes in detail the manner in which Shalmaneser marched forth at the head of his troops for the third time on the same lucky thirteenth, the thirteenth of July; the contemporary record, set up in Til Barsip itself immediately after its occupation, admits that the operation was entrusted to his general. It was this general who drew nigh to the mountain which the enemy had chosen as a battle ground, who blew like the fierce windstorm that breaketh the trees, let fly his troops like a hawk against his opponents, and drove Ahuni like a thief out of the camp, so that the king might despoil his royal treasures. The name was changed to Kar Shulmanasharidu in honor of the sovereign whose fort it became. Two mighty lions of basalt, inscribed with a record of the conquest, were placed in the southeast gate, while inside the walls was a stele in basalt where Shalmaneser was to be seen addressing the rival prince with his conical cap.²⁸ The other occupied cities were given similar Assyrian names. Chief among them was Pitru on the Sagura river, known to readers of the Bible as Pethor, the home of Balaam, which had its name changed to Ashur-utir-asbat,²⁹ and Mutkinu on the opposite shore, where Tiglath Pileser had settled colonists, only to have them ousted by the Aramaeans in the days of Ashur-rabi.³⁰ Bit Adini was not completely Assyrianized, for a century later Amos saw the cutting-off of the scepter-bearer of Beth Eden still in the future, and its captivity was remembered as late as the days of Sennacherib (Amos 1. 5; 2 Kings 19. 12).

The season was still early and a far-reaching plan of operations had been worked out, with intent to punish the Armenian prince who dared contest the control of the Euphrates crossing. Turning back from the river, the Assyrians filed along the slopes of the

²⁸ Thompson, *PSBA* 34. 66 ff.; Hogarth, *Accidents*, op. p. 175; Bell, *Amurath*, 28 ff.

²⁹ That Pitru is the Pethor in Aram Naharaim of Numb. 22. 5; Deut. 23. 5, has been accepted since the earliest days of Assyrian study. It is the Pedru of Thothmes III, Müller, *Asien*, 291. Sayce, *PSBA* 33. 177, locates it at Seresat. The Sagura is the Sājūr, Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 183. The other cities were Aligu (Asbat la kunu); Nappigi (Lita Ashur); Ruguliti (Qibit Ashur); Shaguqa, the Shaqīq Dabbīn, a small fort near Antioch, Yaqut, s. v.

³⁰ *JAOS* 37. 180; 38. 211.

huge Sumu mountain down into Bit Zamani, and thence through the wild mountain paths of Namdanu and Merhisu to Enzite in Ishua. At the source of the Tigris, at Saluria and under Mount Kireqi, amidst the most savage of scenery and among tribes as wild today as they were when their ancestors resisted the march of Assyrian armies, the full-grown West Tigris emerges in a gorge whose walls had already been adorned with the sculptures of the first Tiglath Pileser. At this time, Shalmaneser carved the first of the reliefs which were to commemorate his visit to so astounding a spot.³¹

³¹ The Tigris Grotto was visited by the Cornell Expedition, but there is little to add to the excellent account of Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, 1. 430 ff.; *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1901, 226 ff.; Belck, *Ztf. f. Ethnologie*, 1899, 248 ff. The question of identifications has not been so successfully handled. The modern name is undoubtedly Belqalēn, as we established by repeated questioning, but this is as undoubtedly a Kurdish corruption of Dhi'l Qarnain, for in the days of Yaqut, *s. v.*, Dijle, the castle above 'Ain Dijle, was known as Ḥiṣn Dhi'l Qarnain, 'Alexander's Castle.' Dhi'l Qarnain, belonging to Amida, was conquered by Iyad in 639, Waqidi, quoted Tomaschek, *SB Wien*, 133. 4, 16, who also quotes Evlia Effendi as giving Shatt i Zhu'l Qarnain as the Tigris source, but I cannot verify the reference. Finally, Taylor, in the middle of the last century, heard the term applied to the whole country beyond the castle, *Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 35. 42. In view of all this, it is difficult to see how Lehmann-Haupt can say 'Wenn die Kurden Bylkalēn mit Dhulkarnain in Verbindung bringen, . . . so ist dies eine jeglicher wissenschaftlicher Zulässigkeit entbehrende Volks-Etymologie,' *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1901, 229 n.1. The identification is in its turn a misunderstanding, for which Yaqut himself affords the correction. According to an earlier account, for which he gives an elaborate pedigree, 'the first source of the Dijle is at a place called 'Ain Dijle, two and a half days from Amid, at a place known as Halūras, from a dark cavern.' He then inserts an interpolation referring to Nahr el Kilāb, the Arghana stream, as the first tributary, coming from Shimshat, and to Wadi Ṣalb, between Mayafarkin and Amid, that is, the Ambar Chai. The earlier account then continues 'It is said it issues from Halūras, and Halūras is the place at which 'Ali the Armenian suffered martyrdom.' Then comes a second interpolation taking up the tributaries, beginning with Wadi Sātidamā, which comes from Darb al Kilāb. We must insist on this interpolation, as otherwise our passage would refer to the Wadi Ṣalb which in reality is excluded as being an affluent, not the original stream. Halūras may be traced back to the Syriac Holūris and the Armenian Olorh (Vartan, quoted by Tomaschek, *l. c.*). The name is further seen in the pass Illyrison, near the pass Sapcha, and eight miles from Phision, the modern Fis, Procop. Aed. 3. 3; its earliest form is Ulurush, Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 177, of 736. We may not compare Saluria, which survives in Salora on the Dibene Su just north of the town of that name. Nor may Illyrison be connected with Lije, for this is the Elugia of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 181, the Legerda (MS. legerat) of Tac. Ann. 14. 25,

The pass of Enzite next saw the advance of the Assyrian forces. Having thus penetrated within the border range, they crossed the Arsania, the eastern branch of the Euphrates, and entered Suhme, stormed its capital Uashtal, and took its ruler, Sua, prisoner. Thence they descended into Daiaeni, where they were again in territory once raided by Tiglath Pileser. Shalmaneser, if we may accept the double testimony of inscriptions and sculptures that he was present in person, was at last before the capital of Arame, Arzashkun, on a rocky elevation north of Lake Van, double walled and with towers. In the ensuing action, the little Haldians, armed with swords and javelins, and wearing helmets, short skirts, and pointed shoes, put up a good resistance, and even dared to seize the bridles of the cavalry and chariot horses in the vain attempt to stop the Assyrian advance. The mounted archers completed their discomfiture, the footmen stabbed them or hacked off the legs of the dead and wounded. They managed to reach the gates, and under the protection of their companions' shields, set fire to the city. The town was soon burning and the main body of the Haldians, hurrying through the mountains, found that they had arrived too late. Arame was driven back in confusion to the hills where he suffered a second defeat. The accustomed pillar of heads and the stakes with impaled prisoners were followed by the erection of a stele on Mount Eretia. Only then could the Assyrians march down to the lake and repeat the ceremonies which had marked the beginning of the reign.³²

as Lehmann-Haupt points out, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1900, 439, n., though in *Ztf. f. Ethnologie*, 1899, 253, he argues that the correct form of the modern place is Lije, Ilije being folk etymology! For Kireqi, cf. Craig, *ad loc.*; Streck, *ZDMG* 1908, 759. Ishua is the Isuwa of the Boghaz Köi tablets, according to Streck, *Babyloniaca*, 2. 245. The identity of Alzi with Enzite is proved by Obl. 42 which gives all the names save Enzite whose place is taken by Alzi.

³² Mon. 2. 40 ff.—The start from the Tigris Tunnel proves the use of the pass called Citharizon in Byzantine times when it had a special official to guard it. Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 39, argues for the Harput pass, but this would be very roundabout from the Tigris Tunnel, and the distance actually traversed north of the barrier chain is too short for an advance from so far west. We ourselves came south through the Harput pass, but we went almost to Diarbekir before turning north again to the Tunnel. The Mush pass is too far east to be connected with Alzi. The Arsania is still called the Arsanias Su, and Suhme must be the region about Mush. Arzashku may well be the Ardzik west of Melazgerd, Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 61, n. 4. Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1893, 71, identifies Akuri or Agguri near Ararat with Adduri. Eretia may be Ereshat near Arjish; just before were the cities Aramale and Zanziuna, with a king . . . utu.

Over mountains so high that the attendants must needs lead the chariots, the army continued to Gilzan, where camp was pitched before the chief castle which was situated on a high hill beyond a stream. The inhabitants, led by their chief Asau, were clad in the long double robe, up-turned shoes, and filleted hair, which characterised the Hittites and contrasted so strangely with their Semitic countenances. Some brought kettles on their heads or skins of wine slung over their backs; others drove horses, cattle, sheep, goats, not to forget the seven two-humped camels. To judge from the bronze door representations, they were barely the size of ponies; after the lapse of a generation, the Obelisk presented them grown to twice the height of a man, and the tribute had likewise grown, adding all sorts of minerals and royal robes. Asau was ordered to receive within his temple a stele of Shalmaneser, and the campaign was brought to a close by the capture of Shilaia, the fort of Kakia of Hubushkia.³³

So long-continued an expedition, sweeping around a stretch of territory a thousand miles in an air line, seems almost incredible, and perhaps the task was divided among various armies. Even if the hastiest of raids, it must have completely exhausted the Assyrians. Quite naturally, the year 856 witnessed but two campaigns of decidedly minor importance, in which the king took no part. Ahuni of Adini still persisted in his 'rebellion'; the castle of Shitamrat, on a steep rock by the side of the Euphrates, was taken in three days—according to the scribe who here quotes literally a passage from the records of the king's father.³⁴ The land of Zamua, so often visited by the troops of Ashur-nasir-apal, was now coming to be called Mazamua; the inhabitants fled before the Assyrian advance to a sea on which they embarked in ships of

³³ Mon. 2. 60 ff.—Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 43 f., takes the expedition due east across the boundary mountains, along the Khoi-Dilmun road, then due south and not far west of the Urumia sea, finally back to Assyria by the Keleshin pass. Something is evidently wrong with our source, the topographical confusion is so extraordinary, especially in the concluding statement that after the capture of a Hubushkian fort, the army came out by the pass Kirruri above Arbela. This, of course, is the worst nonsense, as a glance at the relative positions of Hubushkia, Kirruri, and Arbela will show. Perhaps the best conjecture is that the army went down the valley of the Bitlis Chai.

³⁴ Mon. 2. 69 ff.; cf. Ashur-nasir-apal, *Ann.* 1, 50 f.; Streck, *ZA* 19. 236. The Euphrates was not crossed, therefore the identification with Rûm Qal'a, Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 68 n. 3, is impossible.

urbate wood, but the invaders pursued on rafts of skins and 'dyed the sea with their blood like wool.'³⁵

The contemporary Monolith inscription gave no campaign for 855. A few years later, the door sculptures showed the subjugation of Anhite of Shupre. One scene illustrated the siege of Uhuri. The main fortification was in three sections, each with a gate, the central portion on a high hill, the others on somewhat lower ones. There were two outforts, one already in the hands of the besiegers. The attack, under the personal direction of the king, was carried on entirely by archers, on foot or in chariots. An unnamed city was also shown, again situated on three hills. On one was an outfort, with the wall extending down to lower ground. From the crest of the next, the walls of the main settlement stretched across a gully and covered all the third elevation. What the captives had already suffered is indicated grimly by a high isolated pillar before which were heaped three piles of heads. The crown prince had already appeared in the battle, well protected by the tall shield in the hands of his squire; he now took charge of the train of captives, the men naked and yoked, the women in long robes, though the only hint of booty was a lone horse. The captives were presented to a high official, the governor of Tushhan, who stood at the gate of the walled city on a low hill. This campaign, which in reality was carried out not earlier than 853, was in later editions of the annals moved forward to fill the gap in the year 855.³⁶

A glance at the Assyrian Chronicle shows why the Monolith placed no foreign expeditions in this year 855. A new turtanu, Dan-Ashur, has by 854 taken the place of the Ashur-bel-ukin of 857, and a new chamberlain, Bel-bana, appears in 851. The former officials, we can hardly doubt, fell into disgrace as a result of a palace revolution, and it was this crisis at home which prevented an expedition.

We cannot too much regret the misfortune which has prevented us from learning more of this Dan-Ashur. We may be sure he was a man of exceptional force, for otherwise he could not have ruled Assyria, in spite of disaffection, for more than a quarter of a cen-

³⁵ Mon. 2. 75 ff.—For Mazamua, cf. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 38 ff.; the sea can only be Zeribor, *ibid.* 47. The route would be that back of Penjwin, Murray, *Guide*, 323, which probably is connected with the Bunagishlu pass. The cities are Nikdime and Nikdera.

³⁶ Bulls, 66 f.; restored from Obl. 52 ff.

tury. Near the end of this long period, from 833 onward, when he and his royal master had both long since passed their prime, the conduct of the wars was regularly entrusted to Dan-Ashur, and, what is still more to the point, the fact was mentioned in the royal annals. With this amazing tribute to the position he had secured, we may bracket the attempted pushing back of the period when he came to power. The same Obelisk edition which gives him such great honor, just once breaks its custom of dating by the regnal years. This is in 856, when the date given is the eponymy of Dan-Ashur, though the official from whom the year was actually named, Ashur-bana-usur, held that office in 826 as he had thirty years before! We shall meet Dan-Ashur again, as the cause for the great revolt at the end of Shalmaneser's reign.³⁷

Affairs at home once more in order, it was possible to turn to foreign conquests. In the opening days of May, the Assyrian armies undertook a new enterprise which was important enough in itself, and was to have still greater significance in the minds of modern students, for in this year 854 Assyria was brought face to face with a little state in Palestine which was to secure undying fame by its religion and its literature.

The first stop was at the river Balih, where a certain Giammu had retained his independence in the heart of Mesopotamia. The inhabitants feared at the royal approach, and themselves, that is to say, the Assyrian partizans, put Giammu to death. Shalmaneser entered the towns of Kitlala and Til sha Balahi, and proceeded to make the land an integral part of Assyria, in sign of which the Assyrian gods were placed in the temple and a ceremonial feast was celebrated in the palace of the late ruler. The booty from his treasury was carried off to Assyria, and the failure to name a new king indicated that the incorporation, long ago demanded by the necessities of the case, was at last being carried into effect.³⁸

The next objective was Kar Shulman asharidu, as Shalmaneser insists on calling Til Barsip, and once more the Euphrates was passed at its flood. At Ashur utir asbat, to which he grudgingly gives its native name of Pitru, he received tribute from the kings

³⁷ See further Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 347; *Historiography*, 27.

³⁸ Mon. 2. 78 ff.—The reading Til sha Balahi, Tiele, *Gesch.*, 200, is finally proved by the Palihi of the Boissier fragments, *RT* 25. 82; Tell Balikh is another name for the Tell Mahra celebrated in Syriac literary history, Yaqut, s. v.

of the vicinity, among whom were Sangara of Carchemish, Kundashpi of Qummuḥ, Arame of Gusi, Lalli of Melidia; further up the Euphrates, Haianu of Samal, Kalparunda of Hattina and Gurgum. The goal of all his efforts in this region was Halman, as important then as a religious center as it is today, under its half-westernized name of Aleppo, as a center of trade and transportation. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, it had been brought by Subbi luliūma within the Hittite empire, its king had proved his loyalty by his death at the hands of the Egyptians in the battle of Kadesh, another ruler had made himself a subject ally by a treaty with Dudhalia, and a Hittite inscription still survives. Then there is silence until we find Shalmaneser sacrificing to the local Adad, in the central shrine for that most characteristic of West Semitic deities. In this manner, Shalmaneser made good his title to be considered, by gods as by men, the rightful ruler of North Syria.³⁹

³⁹ The earliest site of Aleppo was at Ain Tell, one hour north of the city, where neolithic remains were found by Neophytus-Pallary, *L'Anthropologie*, 25. 12 ff. The Ḫ'-r'-bw of the Amenemhab inscription may be Aleppo, Müller, *Asien*, 256; *Researches*, I, pl. 33. The chief of Ḫy-r'-b' at Kadesh, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 3. 161; cf. Breasted, *Records*, 3. 154; Ḫy-r'-p' of the Hittite treaty, 27, is taken as Aleppo, *ibid.* 171; but Müller, *MVAG* 7. 5. 38 argues that no North Syrian state is represented, and connects it with Herpa. It is Halba in the Boghaz Köi records, Winckler, *OLZ* 10. 351 n. 1. Petrie argues from its non-appearance in the Amarna letters that Nariba-Nerab is the earlier site, *Hist. Egypt*, 2. 316, but he forgets the Hittite inscription, cf. Olmstead-Charles-Wrench, *Hittite Inscriptions*, 44 ff. In the classical period, the name survived in the name of the stream, Chalos according to the reading of the MSS. in Xenophon, *Anab.* 1. 4. 9, the correct form being probably the Chalbās, Choerob. in Theodos. f. 44, in Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* 1430, the modern Quwēq. Seleucus Nicator changed its name to Beroea, App., *Syr.* 57; Yaqut, *s. v.* Ḥaleb. Here the Jewish high priest Menalaus was murdered by Antiochus Eupator, 2 Macc. 13 : 4; Jos. Ant. 12. 385. Demetrius II besieged his brother Philip here, and Strato, tyrant of Beroea, called in Mithridates the Parthian to take the Seleucid king prisoner, Jos. Ant. 13. 384. Heracleon of Beroea revolted from Antiochus Grypus in 95 B. C., Posidonius (4)4, Athen. 4. 38; Trogus, 39, actually says he reigned, that is, as king of Syria. His son Dionysius was later tyrant of Beroea, Strabo 16. 2, 7; cf. Unger, *Philologus*, 55. 116 ff. In the time of Strabo, *l. c.*, it was a small town. The editors of the Delphine Pliny, ad 5. 19, read a coin of Antoninus Pius as Sy(riaca) Be(roea) L(egionem) E(xcepit), thus proving it the seat of a legion, and that this was at one time the IV Parthica seems indicated by the Kuartoparthoi from Beroea of Theophyl. 2. 6, 9. It was on the road of Julian, Ep. 27. Ptol. 5. 14, 13 makes Chalybonitis and Chalybon distinct from Beroea. As Beroea, it appears in the

Soon after, the invaders were in the territory of Irhuleni of Hamath, and no difficulty was experienced in looting the frontier cities and in burning the royal palaces within. Parga, for example, stood on a low artificial mound defended by a stream and by its high battlemented towers, above whose walls appeared to the wayfarer high buildings with flat roofs and many windows. The assault was launched under the protection of a small fort and was assisted by a moveable ram, or rather sow, with staring eyes, projecting snout, and heavy necklace, moved forward by a kneeling man behind whom stood archers encased in the rear. The defenders were unusually brave, for they fought from the open space in front, as well as from the walls.⁴⁰ Adennu, a smaller fort of the same character and with the same situation, was attacked by the king in person and with all his troops. It was finally taken by escalade,⁴¹ and the Assyrians advanced without further resistance up the Orontes valley, through orchards laden with figs, to Qarqara⁴². Although the fort was small and the mound on which it stood was not particularly elevated, its battlemented towers were much above the average height and its position was strategic, for its loss would permit direct attack upon Hamath.

At this point, Shalmaneser found his way blocked by a coalition of a size rarely seen in Syria. At the head, Shalmaneser places Bir idri or Hadadezer of Damascus, a name which certainly is not

Antonine Itinerary, 193 f., but not as a road center. As Callicome, it is a center to a route to Edessa, 191, and to Larissa, 195. The identity of the two is shown by identity of distance, 18 m.p., of Beroa-Calcida and Callicome-Calcida, cf. also the distance, 24 m.p., Callicome-Bathnas. At first, its church was under Antioch, Geo. Cypr., 861, later it became autocephalic, Not. in Gelzer, *Byz. Ztf.*, 1. 250. It last appears as Bārawwā, Yaqut, *s. v.* Ḥaleb. Among its captivities may be mentioned those by Chosrhoes, Chron. Edess. 105; by Nicephorus, Glycas, 570; by Timur, Neshri, ed. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 15. 360. The Arabic literature on Ḥaleb is enormous, and we may simply note the vivid picture by Ibn Jubair, 251 ff., and the reference to the Hittite inscription, ascribed to Ali b. Abu Talib.

⁴⁰ Dhorme, *RA* 9. 155, identifies Barga with the place in Amarna, K. 57. The third city was Argana.

⁴¹ Adennu is the modern Dānā in the Jebel er Rihā in the center of one of the ruin fields explored by the Princeton Expedition. It is the Atinni of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 130; and probably the Adinnu of the letters H. 314, 500, 642, as well as the Atinu of H. 762, cf. Johns, *AJSL* 22. 229. Hartmann, *ZDPV* 23. 145, however, identifies with Tell Lotmīn, northeast of Hamath, the al Aṭmīn of Yaqubi, Sachau, *ZA* 12. 47.

⁴² For Qarqara, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 52.

the same as the Biblical Ben Hadad, but whose relation to the other known rulers of that city is shrouded in mystery.⁴³ According to the Assyrian statistics, his troops consisted of twelve hundred chariots, the same number of cavalry, and twenty thousand foot. Irhuleni comes next with seven hundred chariots, the same number of cavalry, and ten thousand foot. Somewhat to our surprise, the third place is taken by Ahabbu of Sirla' or Ahab of Israel, though this particular incident is not mentioned in the sacred book. Exaggerated as the two thousand chariots and the ten thousand soldiers assigned to him may be, they do prove that Israel was a fairly considerable state as states went in Syria, while the fact that Ahab has the largest number of chariots found in the coalition is the more remarkable since the Biblical narrative of the wars with Ben Hadad imply that Israel was particularly deficient in this respect. Of the less important contingents which played a part in this epoch-making conflict, we have five hundred Guai from Cilicia, a thousand Egyptians, whose aid may not be unconnected with the appearance of the name of Osorkon II in Ahab's palace at Samaria,⁴⁴ a series from the Phoenician states, ten chariots and ten thousand foot from Irqanata, two hundred from Mattan baal of Arvad, the same from Usanata, thirty chariots and ten thousand foot from Adoni baal of Shiana, a thousand camels from Gindibu, the Arab, first indication that the true Arabs are following the Aramaeans in their invasion of the Fertile Crescent, and ten thousand foot from Baasha, the son of Ruhubi, the Ammonite.⁴⁵

⁴³ The whole problem is discussed in detail by Luckenbill, *AJSL* 27. 267 ff.

⁴⁴ Reisner, *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 3. 248 ff.

⁴⁵ Irqanata is the Erkatu ('-r-q'-tw) of the 42d year of Thothmes III, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 3. 30; Müller, *Asien*, 247; Breasted, *Records*, 2. 214 f., the Irqata of the Amarna letters where the mention of Šumuru (Simyra-Sumra) shows it to be identical with 'Arqa, Gen. 10. 17, which has the same form, 'Arqa, in the annals of Tiglath Pileser IV, 146. For the classical Arke-Caesarea and the modern 'Arqa, cf. Robinson, *Bibl. Res.*, 3. 579. Usanata is the Usnu of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 146. The order is Simirra, Arqa, Usnu, Sianu. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 282, identified it with Qal'at el-Hošn, but there is no proof that this was occupied until crusading times; also, it was on the sea shore, Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 125. It may be Orthosia-Artuzi, whose earlier name is unknown. Shiana is the Siana of the Tiglath Pileser passage, the Sin of Gen. 10. 17; and the Sinnas of Strabo, 16. 2. 18, in the mountains not far from Botrys-Batrūn. It is usually identified with a certain Syn, 'ein halb Meile vom Nahr 'Arqa,' mentioned by Breitenbach in his *Reise* of 1486-87, quoted, Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, s. v. Sini, but the place is absent on later maps and we heard of no such locality when in this region.

On their own confession, the battle did not begin auspiciously for the Assyrians. The king ensconced himself in a tent set up on a rock near the river. The sculptures make a very unusual admission, for they show the troops of Hamath, archers with pointed helmets or in chariots much like the Assyrian, pressing over the Assyrian dead to meet the main forces of the king. The written record claims a complete victory. The blood of the vanquished was made to flow down over the passes of the district, the field was too narrow to throw down their bodies, the broad field alone availed for their burial, and at that, their corpses blocked the Orontes like a dam. The number of slain grew with the passage of time, from fourteen thousand to twenty thousand five hundred, to twenty-five thousand, to twenty-nine thousand. Pursuit was continued from Qarqara to Kilzau and to the Orontes,—and the Monolith inscription comes to a sudden end. Had this famous conflict, because of its connection with Israel perhaps the best known of Assyrian battles, been the overwhelming victory claimed, we should not have to record the careful avoidance of Syria which marks the last few years.⁴⁶ Immediately after the battle, the coalition fell to pieces, and Ahab determined to attack his late ally, the king of Damascus. With the aid of Jehoshaphat of Judah, Ramoth-Gilead was besieged, but Ahab met his death and the host disbanded (2 Kings, 22).

Our written records give for the year 853 a raid against Habini of Til-Abni. Without the sculptures, we should never have suspected the importance of the expedition or of Habini himself. His reception was in truth very different from that accorded other conquered rulers. He did indeed make obeisance, bowing his head before the king as he stood resting on his bow, but he made his approach from his fully fortified camp, in chariots which in form as in trapping of the horses were in the best Assyrian style, and he was accompanied by attendants who exemplified all the latest fashions of the Assyrian upper classes. Their hair hung in a mass at the nape of the neck, and their beards were long and square cut, like that of Shalmaneser himself, and in sharp contrast to the pointed beards affected, not only by the princes of the other subjugated peoples, but by the lower class Assyrians as well. Habini wore the long fringed robe and the fringed jacket with diagonal opening, and had just laid aside his ornamented Assyrian sandals.

⁴⁶ Mon. 2. 87 ff.; zigat, Delitzsch, *MDOG* 36. 16; Olmstead, *Historiography*, 22.

In him, we obviously have a ruler well out of the ordinary, thoroughly Assyrianized, and too important to be harshly treated.

Turning north, the Assyrians reached the town of Kulisi,⁴⁷ a small castle on the Tigris with double wall and two-storied gateway. The inhabitants, with the short skirts and round Haldian shields, were stabbed and mutilated, their severed limbs piled in heaps, their heads covered the burning city. Their rebel chief and his followers were impaled naked about the walls or along the river.

Up the valley of the Tigris the Assyrians continued until they reached the 'source of the Tigris, the place whence the waters flow, the cave of the river' pictured in the sculptures. In one scene, the mountains sweep in a long curve around the water, on the far side of which is a fortress, with square gateway between towers. Stone pillars with round balls on their tops flank the opening. In the water, a sculptor works, mallet on chisel, at a representation of the king, which is complete save that the surrounding cartouche is still to be incised. So perfect is the royal figure that an official already stands on a platform erected among the rocks and adores his master's effigy. Other Assyrians lead up a ram for the sacrifice and drag on his back a reluctant bull destined to meet the same end. In a second scene, we have a long parade of soldiers, foot and horse, up the course of the stream. At their head is the king, whose sad lack of horsemanship is indicated by his riding straight-legged and with huge stirrups tied to the horse-blanket, not, in the only fashion known to the oriental expert, with hunched-up knees and bareback. The royal chariot and those which bear the standards are, of course, a part of the picture and so are the calf and the ram destined for the sacrifice. Through three openings, we see trees and soldiers, waist-deep in the icy waters, who uphold torches to lighten the gloom. On the rock at the entrance is the niche with the conventional royal figure, while on a smaller rock in the water stands the sculptor putting on the finishing touches under the direction of the official who stands by his side. The accuracy of the picture is proved by the reliefs surviving unto this day, one on the wall of the passage where the Tigris for the moment comes to the light before again plunging into the mountain, the other in a huge upper cave decorated with great stalactites and stalagmites, where in prehistoric times the river once found its

⁴⁷ The royal city of Mutzuata.

outlet. Above still towers the cliff up which lead rock-cut stairs, and on its summit are the terraces that mark the site of the settlement which once dominated the source of the sacred stream.⁴⁸

The two years which followed were occupied by the Babylonian troubles.⁴⁹ From 850 to 837, our information is scanty in the extreme. Such and such an event took place in such and such a year of the reign, that we may confidently set down, but details of strategy and topography elude us. At first, the west demanded attention. The still unconquered cities belonging to Sangara of Carchemish were reduced and then came the turn of Arame, king of Agusi. His capital, Arne, was unusually well-defended. It was situated on a high mound, its walls were of a decided height, and instead of the usual adobe, stone was used in its construction, the resulting slope presenting very real difficulties to the attacking party. An action before the walls forced the natives to retire within their fortifications, but the fight was continued by the bowmen on both sides. The Assyrian reserves hastened from the distant camp over the dismembered bodies which still covered the ground from the former battle, and assaulted the city to such effect that it fell an easy prey with all its animal wealth.⁵⁰

In those days, Shalmaneser contested another battle further south with the twelve Syrian allies, headed again by Bir-idri and Irhuleni. The cities of Sangara and of Arame were raided the next year (849). Passing along the line of the Amanus, he overran Mount Iaraqu and descended into the lower-lying cities of Hamath. He first encamped before Ashtamaku, a double-walled and battle-mented fort on a low mound. The attack was confided to the crown prince, who, at the head of his cavalry and chariots, rode over the dead in pursuit of the fleeing leaders of the enemy. One

⁴⁸ Bulls, 75 ff.; cf. Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1900, 455; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, I. 430 ff.

⁴⁹ Discussed in detail, Olmstead, *AJSL* 37. 217 ff.

⁵⁰ Bulls, 84 ff.; cf. Maspero, *PSBA* 20. 125 ff. Arne, the Arnu of H. 321 and the Arranu of H. 502, may possibly be identified with Qarne, from which we have horses along with those from Kusa (Caesum?), Dana, Kullania, and Isana, all in this general region, H. 372; Pinches, *PSBA* 3. 13. This may be the Qarnini of the revenue list, III R, 53, 36, and the Karna of the Medinet Habu list of Ramses III, Sayce, *PSBA* 25. 310. Agusi appears again in 743, when it was under Mati ilu, Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 60 ff.; and as the Gusit near Antioch of Michael the Syrian, trans. Delaurier, *JA* 4 Ser., 13, 321. The reliefs add *agda*.

of them escaped up the slope to the city, the horse of the other stumbled and the occupant was compelled to stretch out his hands in surrender. The archers shot at the city until the dead hung down over the walls and the defenders begged for mercy. Another city, in a grove of scrub oak near the river, was taken by escalade, and the decapitated heads of its defenders floated along on the waves of the stream. Bir-idri and the allies who had come to the help of Irhuleni were defeated, and ten thousand of their troops destroyed. Irhuleni was shut up in his double-walled fortress with its gable-roofed houses, where he had made himself comfortable on a couch of Assyrian form, with the flay flapper and shawl of the eunuch attendant and with the long fringed robe and drapery of an Assyrian monarch. These could not protect him from the Assyrian fury and he too was forced to ask for quarter. Irhuleni was permitted to retain his Assyrian dress, even to the pointed helmet, provided only he bowed down in worship, and the youthful prince destined to be his successor was allowed to approach in his chariot and surrounded by his fellows; the common people were treated more roughly, their clothes stripped off, their necks inserted in a yoke, their women in too scanty clothing bewailing their disgrace with hand raised to head. On his return journey, Apparanzu, one of Arame's villages, was taken, and the Assyrians received the tribute of the Hattinian Kalparunda, gold, silver, lead, horses, and cattle, sheep and clothes. The campaign was ended, as was many another, by the cutting of cedar beams in the Amanus.⁵¹

Only a raid across the upper Euphrates to Paqarahubuni in the mountains marked the year 848, and the next saw only one against Iatu, reached by the pass of the Ishtars and so in Kashiari.⁵² The year 846 again found Shalmaneser fighting the allies in central Syria. They had proved, in spite of his boasts of victory, no mean enemies, and he now made one supreme effort to overcome them. The 'numberless levies of troops from the whole of his wide extending dominions were called out' to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand, a maximum for the size of the Assyrian armies and an indication of the gravity of the crisis. The supreme effort

⁵¹ Bulls, 90 ff.—Apparanzu is Abarraza of the Antonine Itinerary, on the Ciliza-Zeugma road, a genuine route, though the distances are far too small. Perhaps the Kiepert map identification with the Baraja on the Quwêq is correct.

⁵² *JAOS* 38, 213.

was made and Syria remained unconquered. Haldia was, therefore, emboldened to adopt a forward policy, and the more pressing needs on this frontier permitted Syria to rest for the present. The sources of the Tigris were again reached, and another rock record was prepared, the barrier range was penetrated by the Tunibuni pass, and the Haldian cities were overrun as far as the sources of the Euphrates. Such sacrifices as the sacred spot demanded were offered, and the rock was inscribed not far from where the tribute of Daieni was received from its ruler Asia.⁵³

An expedition to the Armenian highlands was once more followed by a period of inactivity. The year 844 witnessed merely a brief campaign, into Namri land, across the river Azaba, the Zab, and against Marduk-mudammiq, whose good Babylonian name testified to Babylonian influence in this neighbor land. On the Assyrian approach, he took to the hills, leaving behind his riches and his gods, and his vacant office was granted to a new ruler whom we know only as Ianzu, the native Kashshite word for king.⁵⁴ For the succeeding year, the scribe could think of nothing but a cedar-cutting trip to the Amanus.⁵⁵

Conditions had become more propitious in central Syria by 842. At the instigation of the Hebrew prophet Elisha, Ben Hadad, if he be the same as Hadadezer, had been smothered while sick, and Hazael, the usurping son of a nobody, had taken his place (2 Kings 8. 7 ff.). The confederacy completely broke down as a result and the war with Israel entered a more active phase with the attempt of Jehoram to win back Ramoth-Gilead. Where the Barada breaks through the Anti-Lebanon, under Mount Sanir,⁵⁶ Hazael

⁵³ Bulls, 98 ff.—All the Tigris inscriptions, latest edition, Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 31 ff., seem to date from this expedition, cf. especially Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1900, 455. The Cornell expedition secured squeezes of these inscriptions, now deposited in the Oriental Museum of the University of Illinois through the kindness of Dr. B. B. Charles of Philadelphia. From the Tigris source, the Assyrians could have entered Armenia only by the Citharizon or the Mush pass; the former is eliminated by identification with that of Enzite, therefore it must be the latter.

⁵⁴ The Kashshite vocabulary, first published Delitzsch, *Kossäer*, 25; better by Pinches, *JRAS* 1917, 102.

⁵⁵ Obl. 93 ff.

⁵⁶ Saniru must be placed about Suq Wadi Barada, where the river of that name breaks through the Anti-Lebanon, with which agrees the location of Sanir north of Damascus by the Arabs, e. g., Baladhuri, 112. The gloss in Dt. 3. 9, in its present form, states that 'the Sidonians call Hermon Sirion and the Amorites call it Senir,' which disagrees with the Assyr-

made his stand, but his fortified camp was stormed with a loss of sixteen thousand foot, eleven hundred and twenty-one chariots, and four hundred and seventy cavalry. The Assyrians felled the orchards which filled the fertile valley and appeared before Damascus. The walls were too strong for assault and Shalmaneser had not the patience for a formal siege, so was forced to content himself with a plundering raid in the Hauran mountains, to the east and south, whose rich volcanic soil, then as now, made it the granary of the Syrian area.⁵⁷

Shalmaneser then struck back to the coast, through that plain of Esdraelon which has always been the route from Damascus and the Hauran to the sea. On a projecting cliff which he calls Bali-rasi, 'Baal's Head,' and which may well be intended for the projecting headland of Carmel where Elijah had contended with the priests of Baal a few years before, he placed a stele.⁵⁸ Shortly after, he received tribute from the Tyrians, the Sidonians, and Iaua of the house of Humri, or, being interpreted, Jehu, the son of Omri.⁵⁹

ian and Arab location, unless we attach Senir to the whole Anti-Lebanon including Hermon, which is improbable. The gloss seems to have been earlier than the Chronicler, though the manner in which he states, 1 Chron. 5. 23, that the half tribe of Manasseh increased 'from Bashan to Baal Hermon and Senir and Mount Hermon,' shows that he did not have it in its present form. That the addition of Mount Hermon is not, with Curtis, *ad loc.*, 'a phrase explaining Senir as Mount Hermon,' is shown by the Greek, where Lebanon is added and is no doubt original. The author of Canticles 4. 8, a North Israelite, also realized that they were separate, though closely connected. Ezek. 27. 5 shows the use of fir trees from Senir for ship planks. A striking fact which should not be overlooked is that the Greek on Dt. 3. 9, with the exception of the single MS. x, almost the most Massoretic of all the Greek MSS., Olmstead, *AJSL* 34. 152, does not support the reading Sirion at all but gives the Phoenician name of Hermon as Sanior, that is, the same consonants as Senir.

⁵⁷ *KTA* 30; Rogers, *Parallels*, 298 f.; for death of Hadadezer, cf. Luckenbill, *Exp. Times*, 23. 284.

⁵⁸ Identical in name, though not in location, with the Theuprosopon south of Tripolis, Strabo 16. 2, 15. The current identification is with the Dog River north of Beirut, where we actually have several unidentified stelae, Sayce, *RP²* 4. 44, n. 2; cf. Boscawen, *TSBA* 7. 341. Against it is the lack of proof for the use of the Beirut-Damascus road in antiquity and the difficulty of return from the Hauran by this route; there is no statement that the king visited Tyre and Sidon, though the order of mention might indicate passage from south to north, in which case the old camel route, now the line of the railroad from Damascus to Haifa, would have been followed.

⁵⁹ *III R.* 5, 6; Bulls, Supplement.

After Ahab's death before Ramoth-Gilead, his weakly son Ahaziah reigned two years (853-852) and in want of issue was followed by his brother Jehoram (852-842). The next year, the long reign of Jehoshaphat came to an end and another Jehoram ruled Judah (851-843). Jehoshaphat had been a loyal vassal of Ahab and we can hardly consider the identity of name accidental. Mesha of Moab revolted and declared in his unique inscription that he saw his pleasure on Omri's son, so that Israel perished with an everlasting destruction.⁶⁰ We must be selfishly thankful that he caused it to be inscribed before the episode was finished, when Moab was wasted by the invasion of the three kings, and only the sacrifice of his first-born forced them to decamp hurriedly (2 Kings 3). The usurpation of Hazael offered excellent opportunities to reclaim Ramoth-Gilead, but its successful siege only led to the usurpation of Jehu and the murder of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah (843-842) of Judah.

By the religious reforms of Jehu, Yahweh ruled supreme in the royal court, but it was not so sure that he held first place in men's hearts. Tyre of necessity opposed his rule, and Athaliah, with the manly spirit of her mother, took over the inheritance of her murdered son and Baal's house received the dedications of the Yahweh temple. As Shalmaneser passed through Israelite territory, Jehu appeared before him and the reliefs of the Black Obelisk immortalize the Hebrew ruler as he bowed to the earth before the great king and his attendant eunuchs. A file of men in long double garments brings huge ingots of unworked metals, gold, silver, and lead, small golden pails of not inartistic design, bowls, cups, and ladles. Some carry on their backs sacks filled with precious objects, one holds a scepter, another raises aloft a high thin drinking goblet, others bear bundles of weapons (III R 5, 6).

For the years again succeeding, the Assyrian material is most scanty. A cedar-cutting trip to the Amanus in 841 confirms the success of the year previous, and the invasion of Qaue in the year following was a belated chastisement of the forces which had taken part in the battle of Qarqara fourteen years before. For 839, the official scribe has carelessly omitted the campaign; the Chronicle and the sculptures on the Obelisk show that it was against Marduk-

⁶⁰ Latest edition, S. Sidersky, *Rev. Archéologique*, 5 ser. 10. 59 ff., with bibliography.

apal-usur, the ruler of Suhi on the middle Euphrates.⁶¹ The Obelisk shows the wild beasts in the palm groves along the river, the tribute of golden pails, bowls, the bars of lead, the elephants' tusks, the varicolored cloths draped over poles and carried between two men.

There succeeded a campaign against Danabi in North Syria and a last attempt to reduce the cities of Hazael in 838 was no more of a success. Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus furnished fresh proof that the Phoenicians were prepared to pay any reasonable tribute if their control of the trade routes should be free from interference; Hazael was a different proposition and Shalmaneser was forced to be content with placing on a bit of black marble the ludicrously inappropriate inscription 'Booty from the temple of the god Sher of Malaha, residence of Hazael of the land of Damascus, which Shalmaneser, the son of Ashur-nasir-apal, king of Assyria, brought within the walls of the city of Ashur'.⁶²

The complete failure of Assyria in the west meant ruin for those who had taken her side. Hazael again began to attack Jehu, and

⁶¹ Forrer, *MVAG* 20. 3, 9 ff., has shown that the third line of the obverse of the Chronicle fragment Rm. 2, 97, is to be restored Su(?)-hi instead of Qum-muhi as I have done, that the scribe has omitted this from the Obelisk inscription, although leaving traces in the numbers of campaigns and in spite of the pictured representations. He has also shown that Shulmu-bel-lamur, eponym of 840, should be assigned to Ahi-Suhina. Thus all my attributions of office and place attacked should be shifted one move until the eponymy of Shalmaneser. This is confirmed by the appearance of the same officials in the same office elsewhere and fills the gap of office in 829 in my edition. Unfortunately, he does not know my studies of the Chronicle, published in *Sargon*, 1908, and in *JAOS* 34. 344 ff., 1914. In general, his reconstructions of the various documents were anticipated, but his independent discovery has corroborative value. All dates before 785 are reduced by him one year, as he explains the difficulty in the group 789-785 as due to two eponyms in one year for 786; I still prefer my explanation of scribal error as worked out in the complete edition. He begins the Sargon fragment with 720, ascribes lines eight to ten to 713, and the last four and two respectively to 707 and 706. Again I may state that my earlier reconstruction and dating seem preferable. In particular he notes that while we knew of a trip in 713 to Ellip, 'dass auch eine Unternehmung nach Musasir stattfand ist neu,' though thirteen years ago the whole matter was discussed in my *Sargon*.

⁶² Obl. 99 ff.; Assyrian Chron. for Qummuh in 841 and Danabi in 839; the marble 'perle', *KTA* 26; *MDOG* 39. 45. Danabi is Tennib SSW. of 'Aāz, Nöldeke, *ZÄ* 14. 10; the Tinnab, a large town of Aleppo, Yaqut, s. v. It is very doubtful if it is to be identified with the better known Tunip of Egyptian times, cf. Müller. *Asien* 257 f.

the whole of the east Jordan country, Gilead and Bashan, the tribal territories of Gad, Manasseh, and Reuben, to Aroer on the Arnon which a few short years ago Mesha had boasted his own, fell into his hands (2 King 10. 32 ff), and Amos condemned the manner in which Damascus had threshed Gilead with threshing implements of iron (Amos 1. 3 ff). Jehu was more successful in the sister kingdom, where Athaliah (842-837) by her insistence on the ancestral Baal cult had alienated the powerful priesthood of her adopted country. The infant son of Ahaziah had been saved by his aunt Jehosheba from the slaughter of the remainder of the seed royal; her husband Jehoiada, the chief priest of Yahweh, persuaded the foreign body-guard to support the legitimate claimant. Athaliah was slain, and the enraged populace destroyed the Baal temple with the Tyrian priest Mattan.

Jehoahaz (815-799) was still less able to defend himself against Hazael, who took for himself the whole Philistine plain, and Jehoash (837-798) of Judah saved himself from complete ruin only by sending to Hazael all his treasures. The son of Hazael, the last Bar-Hadad, was a man of lesser caliber, and Israel recovered its lost cities (2 Kings 12 f.; 6 f.).

Foiled in the south, Bar-Hadad turned his attention to North Syria, where Hamath was now ruled by a certain Zakar, who in all probability came originally from Laash, the Luhuti of Shalmaneser's record, for he adds it to Hamath as territory ruled. Thanks to his god, Baalshamain, he was made to rule in Hazrak, the Biblical Hadrach and the Assyrian Hatarika, on the Orontes a short distance south of Hamath.⁶³ If before this Hazrak had belonged to Damascus, we can understand why Bar-Hadad formed an alliance against him. Of the ten kings, we have mention of Bar-Gush, king of Agusi or Arpad, the king of Quhweh or Cilicia, the king of the Umq we have learned of as the equivalent of Hatina, the king of Gurgum, the king of Samal, the king of Meliz or Melitene; it is the usual catalogue of the kings of North Syria. They fell upon him suddenly and all laid siege to Hazrak, raised a wall higher than the wall of that city, and dug a ditch deeper than its moat. Then did Zakar lift up his hands to Baalshamain and Baalshamain answered him and sent by the hand of seers and men expert in numbers and thus did Baalshamain say: 'Fear not, for I have made thee king and I will stand by thee and I will

⁶³ For the exact site, concealed by Pognon, cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 3. 175.

rescue thee from all these kings who have made siege against thee.' So Zakar appointed men of Hazrak for charioteers and for horsemen to guard her king in the midst of her, he built her up and added a district to her and made it her possession and made it his land. And he filled with men all these fortresses on every side and he built temples in all his land. The stele, written in a curious mixture of Aramaic and Phoenician, did he set up before Al-Ur, not to speak of his other gods, Shamash and Sahar and the gods of heaven and the gods of earth, and upon it he wrote that which his hands had done.⁶⁴

Thus the western policy of Assyria was a failure, her friends suffered, and the only interest of succeeding campaigns lies in the new fields attempted. Through Nairi, the Assyrians marched to Tunni, a mountain of silver, *muli*, and white limestone, took cut stone from the quarries, and left in return a stele. They ended with Tabal or eastern Cappadocia, where twenty-four kings handed over their quota, and with Que, where the lands of Kate, the *nasaru*, were ravaged (837).⁶⁵ The next year Uetash, the fort of Lalli of Milidia (Melitene), was assaulted and the kings of Tabal presented their tribute. With 835, the Obelisk begins to narrate events at first hand, and consequently we have somewhat more detail, but the events themselves are scarcely more important. The Ianzu established in Namri in 844 had become hostile, was driven to the mountains, and made a prisoner. Twenty-seven kings of the Parsua land paid their dues when he appeared in their country, and in the Missi land Shalmaneser found a possession of the Amadai. This at least is worthy of our most careful notice, for it marks the first appearance of the Medes in written history. The return journey saw a stele erected in Harhar and its inhabitants led in captivity to Assyria.⁶⁶

The year following saw the Assyrians on the opposite frontier.

⁶⁴ Pognon, *Ins. sémitiques*, 2, no. 86; I have in general followed the text and translation of Torrey, *JAOS* 35. 353 ff.

⁶⁵ The difficult Obl. 104 ff. is now largely supplanted by the Berlin Ins., 3. 1 ff.; cf. Delitzsch, *MDOG* 21. 52 f.; Meissner, *OLZ* 15. 145 ff.

⁶⁶ Obl. 107 ff.—The Hashmar pass must be that between Bane and Sakkiz, later taken by Sargon, Thureau-Dangin, *Campagne*, iii, which is 2180 m. high. The route would be down the Jaghatu Su. Parsua and Missi are located by the Sargon tablet, cf. the map in Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* The cities of Namri are Sihishalah, perhaps Shlag, Bit Tamul, probably Tamontal, Bit Sakki, almost certainly Sakkiz, Bit Shedi, Kuakinda, Tarzanabi, Esamul, Kinablila. Between the Amadai and Harhar is given Araziash.

Que was entered through the Amanus Gates and Timur was taken from Kate, but this was only a raid, as was the seizure of Muru, a fort of the still independent Arame of Agusi, though a palace was erected therein. A more extensive raid was that of 835 when Tulli, who had just displaced Kate, surrendered as soon as he saw his fort Tanakun in Assyrian possession. His gifts included silver, gold, iron, cattle, and sheep. The inhabitants of Lamena found refuge in the hills and the expedition ended with the capture of Tarzi, Tarsus, which was at this time taking the place of Mallus as the central point in the Cilician plain, as the terminus of the great route which led through the Cilician Gates to the plateau of Asia Minor, and as the outlet of the famous Hittite silver mines to the north of the mountains whose wealth was to make the name of Tarshish world famous. Tulli was in his turn deposed, his place taken by Kirri, brother of the former ruler, and cedars were cut in the Amanus for use in the city of Ashur.⁶⁷

The absence of references to Haldia in the last few years is noticeable and cannot be accidental. A change of rulers which meant a change of dynasty, Sardurish the son of Lutiprish taking the place of Arame, seemed to promise a check for his dangerous neighbor. Strange to relate, Shalmaneser did not himself undertake this expedition, perhaps the most important in the second half of the reign. Stranger still, the official annals emphasize the fact that it was led by Dan-Ashur, the turtanu. First to be reached was Bit-Zamani, whose independence, however qualified, strikes us as a little peculiar, until we examine the state of organization on this frontier. Ishtar-emuqaia, governor of Tushhan at the bend of the Tigris, appears as early as 868,⁶⁸ but Ninib-kibsi-usur in 839 rules only the Nairi lands, and the cities Andi, Sinabu, Gurruna, Mallani, and the land Alzi,⁶⁹ and it is not until 800 that

⁶⁷ Obl. 132 ff.—Tanakun is identified with a Greek Thanake which I cannot locate, Sayce, *Expos. Times*, 15. 284. Its site is probably Topraq-Qale, on the Cilician side of the Amanus Gates. The reference to the mountains and its seeming position on the direct road from the Gates to Tarsus led me to locate it at Yalan Qale at the east end of the pass through the Jebel Nur. For name, we may compare the Limenia of the Tecmorian ins., Ramsay *Hist. Geog.*, 413. The Chronicle repeats the 'against Que' a second time under this year; Forrer, *MVAG* 20. 3, 13, may be correct in seeing in this proof of two expeditions in one year, but his identification with Lamos-Lamotis-Lamas Su southwest of Tarsus, though seductive, is not quite sure.

⁶⁸ Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, no. 99.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* no. 47; cf. Forrer, *op. cit.* 12.

Marduk-shimeani appears as governor of Amedi.⁷⁰ Haldia was entered by the Ammash pass and the Euphrates was crossed. Shalmaneser claims the usual victory over his Haldian opponent, but if it were in reality a defeat, we could understand more easily why Sardurish could induce the Hattinians to dethrone and kill their pro-Assyrian prince Lubarna and place on his throne a usurper named Surri. Again Dan-Ashur was given command. Surri died a natural death which the scribe attributed to the offended majesty of the god Ashur, and his erstwhile followers handed over his sons and accomplices for impalement. Sasi declared his adherence to the Assyrian cause and was made king, subject to heavy tribute of metals and ivory. The royal figure was installed in the temple at Kunulua, but no attempt was made to turn the region into a province.⁷¹

Only a rapid raid against Kirhi and Ulluba is listed for the year 830, and the geography shows that there had been retrocession of the Assyrian sphere of influence under the attacks and intrigues of Haldia. Dan-Ashur crossed the Upper Zab the next year and forced the payment of tribute from Datana of Hubushkia, then produced a similar result in the case of Maggubbi of Madahisa, and drove out Udaki from Zirta, capital of the Mannai. The last reference is of interest, for it affords the first knowledge of the people who were to be associated so constantly with the Assyrians in their last hundred years. The next to be invaded was Haruna, whose capital, Masashura, was taken, and whose prince, Shulushunu, was granted peace. Artasari of Paddira is likewise an interesting individual, for his name, compounded with the commonest Iranian element, shows how the new race was coming in. Parsua, still attempting to retain complete independence, was the last to be visited.⁷²

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* no. 39.

⁷¹ Obl. 141 ff.—The form Seduri is probably due to assimilation to the god Siduri; that he was identical with Sardurish was first indicated by Sayce, *JRAS* NS 14. 404. Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1894, 486 (cf. Lehmann, *ZA* 11. 200 ff.), and often, argues that the Sardurish of the native inscriptions, Sayce 1 f., was earlier and different from our Seduri, but without a shred of proof and contrary to all the evidence, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 36 n. 35, and now also Forrer, *MVAG* 20. 3, 22. For Ammasherub, cf. Hommel, *Gesch.*, 600. Name and location alike prove identification with the Mush pass, the Gozme Gedik of 6645 ft., Lynch, *Armenia*, 2. 396.

⁷² Obl. 159 ff.—Rasmussen, *Indskriften*, 39, identifies our Datana with the Dadi of Hubushkia of Shamshi-Adad, *Ann.* 2. 37. For Zirta or Izirta, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 107, n. 21; Thureau-Dangin, *Campagne*, iv; it may now

Conditions were becoming increasingly bad. The king might celebrate his thirty-year jubilee with all due ceremony,⁷³ but Dan-Ashur was in control of the administration, Haldia was continually increasing in power, and the tribes to the north and west were throwing in their lot with it instead of Assyria. One more effort was made by Dan-Ashur to answer complaints at home by conquests abroad. While the king remained in his palace, the unwearied old man undertook an ambitious expedition. Datana of Hubushkia was the first to feel his heavy hand and then Musasir, another state destined to play a most important part in the next century. The fortress of Sapia captured, he felt that he could venture against Haldia itself. Failing here, he turned east and went down to Gilzan where Upu presented his tribute as did the men of the neighboring states. From Parsua, he descended to Namri, and so through the pass of Simesi above Halman back to Assyria.⁷⁴

be located at Sauch Bulaq. The Mannai are the Minni of Jer. 51. 27; the Minyas of Nicolaus of Damascus, Jos. Ant. 1. 95; cf. Rawlinson, *JRAS*(OS) 12. 446. For the common Shurdia, I read Pad-di-ra, a very easy correction palaeographically, comparing the Paddir of Shamshi-Adad, Ann. 2. 7, and the Paddir of Ashur-bani-apal, Cyl. B. 3. 59. The raid was, therefore, up the Zab to Merwan, then to Kochanes and the Kaliresh pass to Ushnu. Beyond, the course is conjectural.

⁷³ For the second time, the king did something before the face of Adad and Ashur, but the crucial word is doubtful. Norris, *Assyr. Dict.*, 106, quoted Amiaud-Scheil, *Salmanasar*, 70, would read *bu-u-[na]* and Rasmussen makes out the first half of the *na*. With this reading, we would naturally translate with Amiaud-Scheil, 'fixer la face en presence d'Assur et Adad,' cf. for *bunu* Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.*, *ad loc.*, and compare, with Tiele, *Gesch.*, 204, the similar celebrations in Egypt in honor of the completion of the thirtieth year of the reign. The present view seems to read *pu-u-[ri]* which would mean holding the office of eponym a second time, cf. Peiser, *KB* 4. 106 n.; Muss-Arnolt, *s. v.*, for possible connection with the Purim feast. Pleasant as it would be to have an Assyrian prototype of that much-discussed feast, it is certain that Shalmaneser was not eponym until 828, after our inscription had been completed, and thus the *puru* interpretation is thrown completely out of court.

⁷⁴ Obl. 174 ff.—The route taken was up the Zab to about Merwan where he touched a corner of Hubushkia, and then east to Musasir, the region of the Nihail chain, as the Sargon Tablet shows. The raid across the Haldian border must have taken place about Bash Qala or Khoshab. Sapia is Zibar on the Upper Zab, and may be connected with the older name Subartu. He then went down into Gilzan to the east, about Dilman. The states mentioned after Gilzan are Mannai, Burisai, Harranai, Shashganai, Andiai, a people whose name began with a vertical stroke and ended with . . . rai, and he then still further descended to a state whose name begins with two and then one

With this campaign of 828, the narrative of the Obelisk comes to an abrupt end. The scribe claims the usual great success, but his best skill cannot conceal its virtual failure. There is not even the briefest mention of the numerous structures erected during the reign, though we may be sure that it was the original plan to inscribe their recital on the well-carved stone. When we turn to the Assyrian Chronicle, we find under this same year 828, not an expedition against foreign enemies, but the single ominous word 'revolt,' and the word is repeated for five years more. For a quarter of a century, Dan-Ashur had been the actual ruler of the empire, and so notorious was his usurpation of the supreme power that it was he and not his nominal master to whom was ascribed the glory of successful campaigning in the magnificent series of reliefs which were to commemorate the reign. In contrast to the sharp individuality with which Dan-Ashur stands out, Shalmaneser is a colorless figure. His relations with his turtanu, who held office for a quarter of a century, a term almost without parallel in the east, do not speak for his strength of character. We know how he left the command of armies in his later years to Dan-Ashur, although his turtanu must have been at least as old as himself; in his earlier years, he claims to have exercised the leadership in person, but the more truthful pictorial records make it certain that in some cases he was not present, and of others we may make the same conjecture. When he does appear in the field, he rarely descends from the chariot to engage actively in the fighting. In the chariots, both he and the crown prince require a third man to hold the shield and by an arm thrown about the waist to prevent them from falling to the ground. The one occasion when Shalmaneser appears on horseback, it is with the awkwardness of a man not accustomed to ride and unable to keep a firm seat. In his

horizontal stroke, and took their cities of Pirria and Shitiuaria, evidently along the west shore of Lake Urumia. The Parsua cities are Bushtu, Shalahamanu and Kinihamanu. Bushtu is a common name, and may be identical with others. Burisai may be found in the Burasi-Berozi on the upper Dilman stream with Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 156. Harrania is the Harrana of Knudtzon, *Gebete*, 35, an oracle which asks whether the Ishkuzai who are in the Mannai region will leave the pass of the city of Hubushkia and go to Harrania and Anisus. Andiu is said by Adad nirari to be far distant, Kalhu ins., 9; and Sargon, Ann. 81, confirms its close connection with Hubushkia and the Mannai. Sayce, *RP*² 4. 51, n. 3, identifies Shitiuaria with the Haldian Shatiraraush. The conclusion is topographically impossible; the pass of Simesi is too far north, Halman-Holwan equally too far south. The topography of the preceding marches forces us to believe that the Hashmar pass is meant.

foreign policy, he imitated his father, even to the copying of his father's set phrases in his own formal inscriptions. He was most at home in the audience chamber, where he could hold the arrows gracefully in one hand, the bow in the other, resting on the ground, the ornamental sword remaining at his side, displaying the tiara and fillet, the long hair ribbons, the fringed robe and shawl that came to his sandalled feet.⁷⁵ Significant, too, is the fact that the highest court officers, many of the commanders in the field, the prefect of the camp, all the men most closely connected with his person, were eunuchs, and we may without too much danger of error conjecture that Dan-Ashur himself belonged to the same unfortunate and detested class.

Shalmaneser had been accompanied on his expeditions by his son, the crown prince, as early as 858, and thenceforth the reliefs represent him with considerable frequency. If we are to identify him with Ashur-dan-apal, he must have been by this time no less than forty-five years old. A prince of such mature age could hardly suffer in silence a usurpation of power so great that the turtanu's name was glorified in the official records destined to go down to posterity, while his own exploits, though represented anonymously in the earlier sculptures, were in later times entirely missing. The unanimity with which all Assyria arose is in itself proof of the general feeling that his cause was just. At the head of the revolt stood Nineveh which might find some excuse in the neglect of the king. Ashur had been the special protégé of Shalmaneser. Practically every building of importance, the double wall, the Anu-Adad temple, the Ishtar and Ashur temples, all had been restored in the most generous fashion.⁷⁶ Yet Ashur, too, went over to the enemy. Imgur-Bel had been adorned with the magnificent palace-gates to whose bronze decorations we owe the proof of the age of Ashur-dan-apal, but the gift could not restrain it from revolt. Shibaniba and Dur-Balat in the first range of mountains to the northeast, Zaban with its command of the debatable land, Arrapha with its control of the mountains, the sacred city of Arbela, all of Upper and Lower Assyria acknowledged the new claimant to the crown. The majority of the newly-acquired provinces and dependencies seized the opportunity to free themselves. The Aramaeans in particular, Shima, Tidu, Nabalu, Kapa, Huzirina, Amedi, Til-Abni, Hindanu, Kurban,

⁷⁵ *TSBA* 6. pl. 8.

⁷⁶ Andrä, *MDOG* 54. 21.

all the states whose names have become familiar from the reports of the last two reigns,⁷⁷ swelled the armies of the pretender. A definite understanding between these Aramaeans and the revolting Assyrians existed, as is shown by the letter 'concerning the rebel' which was written in Aramaic by Kabti, the scribe of Ashur-dan-apal.⁷⁸ Only Kalhu remained true to the old king and his eunuchs.

To meet the reproach that the turtanu and not Shalmaneser was the actual ruler, the king had taken upon himself the eponym office in the very year the revolt broke out, but the expected result had not followed and the insurrection continued unabated. In its midst, Shalmaneser passed away, and left the insurrection as a heritage to his son Shamshi-Adad (825-812). Two more years the rebels held out and then the revolt collapsed. Why, with everything in its favor in the beginning, it ultimately failed, is one of the mysteries we so often meet in tracing the history of reform movements. Like so many attempted reforms, the most obvious result was the damage accomplished. Coming at a time when the man-power was already weakening, it marked the definite passage into decline, a decline which ended only with the fall of the dynasty.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Shamshi Adad, Ann. 1. 45 ff.—Shibaniba was the province of the eponym for 787, Johns, *Deeds*, no. 653, and cf. Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 364. It occurs in Sennacherib, Bavian ins., 9, which locates it close to that place. Dur-Balat is the near-by Kurdish hamlet of Balata where we spent a smoky evening protected from a blizzard. Adi is not far away, no less than the Shekh Adi which is the center of the Yezidis or 'Devil Worshipers.' Amat is Amada east of Akra. Kapa is Hassan Kef. Parnunna is the seat of an eponym in 755 and probably in 785, Olmstead, *l. c.* For Kurban, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 152. Others are Ishshibri, Bit Imdira, Shibtinish, Kibshuna, Urakka, Dariga.

⁷⁸ Copy of ancient letter sent to Sargon, H. 872; Johns, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, 6. 631. Hommel, *PSBA* 18. 182, identifies Ashur-dan-apal with Sardanapallus, and Belyses with Marduk-balatsu-iqbi. He might have added the date given by Eusebius to Sardanapallus, 835, yet Sardanapallus must be Ashur-nasir-apal.

⁷⁹ For the provisional government, cf. Olmstead, *Amer. Political Science Rev.*, 12. 69 ff.; add now the scanty information in Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, to the discussion of the officials of the reign, Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 346 ff. No attempt to discuss the buildings or indeed the general culture is made in this article.